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An excellent illustration of the power ascribed to exuviae is the use of sweat to arouse love. Thus a sorceress sometimes mixes a little perspiration from the sole of a girl's foot with some soot from the chimney, and pronounces a formula over the mixture; if the girl pours this concoction into a drink given to a boy, he will surely fall in love with her and soon marry her.[52]

When a person faces a serious situation and wants to be sure that the means employed are effective, he resorts, as in some of the above-cited cases, to a professional sorcerer (*czariwnyk*) or soothsayer (*prymiwnyk*) for assistance. Of these practitioners, mostly women, the most proficient are thought to be the Gypsies,[53] and especially the offspring of a Gypsy and a Ukrainian peasant.[54] A sorcerer or sorceress is never born but made. A woman who wants to become a sorceress must fast for nine consecutive days, abstain from ablutions and prayer, indeed, renounce completely her belief in Christ, and carry an undeveloped egg under her left armpit throughout the period. She must not, moreover, reveal the secret of her power, lest she lose her skill. On her dying bed, however, she should tell everything to another woman, in order to avoid the suffering of a lingering death which would otherwise be her fate.[55]

The sorcerer or soothsayer foretells future happenings by reading the lines of the palm, by extinguishing coals in the manner already mentioned, and by pouring wax upon water and observing the different shapes it takes.[56] To put an end to malicious gossip,

> a soothsayer is called in, and a lock is handed her. She washes the lock in water, brought by the master of the house, walking backward all the way, from an abundant well, and then closes it in order to put an end to the gossip. In case the latter is very menacing, two locks may be washed and shut. Having closed the locks, the soothsayer sweeps all the dirt and dust of the room into the water, and has the inhabitants of the house take off all their clothes and wash themselves with it. Finally she washes the windows too, and then

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 139. [53] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iv, 291.
[54] Kolberg, O. *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 236.
[55] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iv, 291. [56] *Idem.*

pours the water with all its dirt (the gossip) out through the window.[57]

While the female soothsayer occupies herself mainly with prophesying the future, making love magic, and the like, her counterpart specializes in weather control—in banning hail, thunder, snowstorms, and torrents, and in bringing the rains needed to relieve drought. Even in such cases, however, the ordinary man is far from helpless. Armed with formulas and more concrete means, he can avert a calamity even without the aid of a weather expert. It will be convenient, therefore, to examine the weather lore of the people before turning to a consideration of the professional.

The layman, first of all, is much given to predicting the weather, which he undertakes with the greatest of confidence, especially at Easter. On this day he forecasts atmospheric changes throughout the year, and these prophecies are not mere pastimes, but are believed in to the extent of letting them determine important economic activities.[58] Work and cattle trading, for example, are done in accordance with these predictions. If it rains on Easter Day, the whole summer will be wet; fair weather foretells a dry summer, and unsettled weather means that in general a good summer is at hand. Aside from these general prophecies the people indulge in more minute predictions on the same day. If fair weather prevails from 1 to 3 a.m., an early and fair spring may be expected, and the price of hay will rise and that of cattle will fall. If the weather is pleasant from early in the morning until noon, then the approaching spring will be fair and the harvest good; if, however, the morning is fair at first but the sky later becomes overcast, the spring will indeed be pleasant, but the time of the maize and potato harvest will be characterized by inclement weather. Further detailed predictions are made from the kind of weather prevailing during the evening and on the following night, and the work in the fields and pastures is planned in accordance therewith.[59]

The layman can also, as already intimated, do much to avert hail or relieve drought without calling upon the aid of the weather

[57] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 276. [58] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iii, 8.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

789 The village elder, with the aid of his assistants, calls together all the women, old and young, usually on a Sunday, at a certain place, whence they are taken to the nearest lake or river and made to bathe. This is supposed to cause immediate rain. The group of women thus assembled enter the water willingly, or, if they resist, are thrown in by force. There they must stand in their shirts, with the water up to their waists, for a full quarter of an hour. This act is called *baby splawyty* (bathing the women). If it is noticed that any of the women are absent, a trustworthy peasant is sent to the house of the disobedient one to find out the reason for her absence. The only excuses acceptable in this case are absence from the village and serious illness. In the latter case, however, the woman is at least made to urinate and the urine is immediately spilled on the field.

The urine of women, as a matter of fact, is generally held to possess the power of causing rain.

• 756 789 In order to avert effectively a dangerous hailstorm or an approaching cloudburst, or to end a long-standing drought, it is necessary to secure the services of a professional weather expert. One or more of these men are to be found in practically every village, but not all are considered equally skilful. Those with the greatest repute come from among the mountaineers. Although women are not unknown as weather conjurors, those who excel at the art are usually men. A weather-man of reputation is much sought after and looked up to. His services are in demand over wide territories, and he is well paid and often comparatively wealthy. Travelling from place to place in response to calls, he frequently returns home in the fall with wagons laden with grain obtained for his services.[64]

The weather expert, though versed in all kinds of atmospheric problems, specializes at times in one field, or is at least considered by the people to excel in dealing with one particular kind of phenomenon. The two commonest specialists are the *hradiwnyk* (hail-man) and the *chmarnyk* (rain-man). They are able not only to prevent storms and bring rain but also, if asked,

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to divert the hail or cloudburst to an enemy's field.[65] For this reason they are sometimes looked upon as malevolent persons in league with an evil spirit.[66]

The *hradiwnyk* or *chmarnyk* may control the weather either in the individual case or for the entire year. His methods differ widely, ranging from the utterance of simple formulas to the institution of elaborate ceremonies involving mysterious instruments. Naturally, the more elaborate the means, the more effective the results are believed to be. To avert a hail or a cloudburst the weather expert must have a special wand, called *koszturnik*. This implement is usually fashioned from a limb broken off from a knobby bladder-knot tree, and it acquires its magical potency by being used to separate a frog and a snake engaged in a life and death struggle. Such struggles often occur in the mountainous region in the spring, and are so fierce that the combatants foam at the mouth. Touching the foam endows the wand with mysterious power. Other instruments widely used by weather-men include the scythe, the hatchet, and sharp tools in general.[67]

Conjuration in the individual case, i.e. whenever a storm approaches, is performed in the following manner. As soon as a hailstorm is in evidence, the *hradiwnyk* repairs to the field, where he either undresses completely or else retains only his shirt. He then takes his hat in one hand and a scythe in the other, and utters his formulas, which are intended to divert the hail to a road, a river, a forest, or the field of an enemy.[68] A wand of the type described above, if the weather-man has one, is, of course, more effective than a scythe. Should such a conjuration prove ineffective, the *hradiwnyk* simply presents his hind part to the hail—a last resort which is considered infallible.[69] An approaching torrent or cloudburst, too, is prevented by simple means. As soon as a heavy cloud appears, the *chmarnyk* runs outdoors and diverts the storm in any desired direction by merely pointing with his wand.[70]

[65] Kaindl, in *Mitt. k.k. geogr. Gesellsch.*, xxxvii, 626.

[66] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 121. [67] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 252, 253.

[68] Kaindl, in *Mitt. k.k. georg. Gesellsch.*, xxxvii, 626. [69] *Idem.*

[70] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 253.

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To banish hail throughout the year the *hradiwnyk* must act on Christmas Eve. He must neither eat nor drink throughout the day, nor must he spit or talk to anyone. Late at night he undresses completely and betakes himself naked to the field. Here he draws various circles with his magic wand and by uttering his formulas, tries to get the hail to appear before him. The hail, naturally enough, does not appear, and this evokes from the conjuror the following address: "As you are not heeding my call now, so may you remain far from us throughout the year!" With this the conjuration for the whole year is accomplished.[71]

How does the weather-man avoid blame for his false predictions and ineffective conjurations, which are necessarily very numerous, and how does he manage to hold the confidence of the people? The answer is obvious: he employs the familiar excuses used by shamans everywhere. After performing his act he asserts that the cloud must disappear and that there will be no hail whatever, or, if for some reason the cloud cannot be dispersed, that he is driving it away to deserted places so that it will hail only there. If, however, his art fails, and someone complains to this effect, then he says that he was unable to do anything because he noticed the impending cloud too late, i.e. when it was over and had already left the limits of his sphere of influence, for, if this occurs, there is nothing one can do to ward off hail in that region.[72] Another stock excuse is that "the weather-man of a neighbouring village, may God punish him, has diverted the hail to our village out of revenge." The people believe this, and so does the conjuror himself.[73]

Mention should be made in this connection of the current belief that natural phenomena have a definite influence upon human health. In some localities, when the people hear thunder for the first time in the spring, they throw themselves on the ground and roll around, even though they may be engaged at the time in important work and the earth be muddy. This behaviour is thought to prevent all sorts of aches and especially stomach disorders.[74] In other places, on similar occasions, the

[71] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 253. [72] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 123.
[73] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, i, 55. [74] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 234.